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- 1 The migratory movements of architects, town planners and landscape designers might appear to be an epiphenomenon when compared to the major upheavals experienced in the world in the twentieth century. Yet, the number and diversity of these different life paths can undoubtedly provide us with precious information on the circulation of ideas, techniques and know-how in the contemporary period. Whether these migrations were caused by economic reasons, or were a form of political exile or escape, these “journeys” bear witness to the cultural history of architects, town planners, and landscape designers and deserve to be taken into consideration.
- 2 There is abundant research literature – and associated events such as exhibitions – on the theme of the exile and migration of intellectuals¹. However, to our knowledge, the particular case of architects, town planners and landscaper designers has only been partially studied. The only research to date that has looked into this particular question is essentially concerned with those fleeing the rise of totalitarianisms on the eve of the Second World War². Bernd Nicolai’s remarkable study of German architects fleeing Nazism are, for the most part, only available in German³. Charlotte Benton also researched the experiences of architects exiled in Great Britain after 1930 and the difficulties they experienced integrating British society⁴. There are also some publications (in Spanish) about those who settled in Latin America after fleeing Franco’s regime in Spain⁵.
- 3 Nevertheless, even if there are some studies of the transfer of culture resulting from these migrations in the period between the two World Wars and during the Second World War⁶, there is still no detailed mapping of the migratory flows between North-South/East-West/ the Americas-Europe in the contemporary period. For the present collection of work, the favoured approach is the use of biography and prosopography⁷ since both individual and/or collective paths allow us to grasp the diversity and complexity of the phenomenon. All the contributions selected here question these

migratory phenomena via an analysis of the causes of exile, through to their consequences at the individual, collective, national and international level, from a personal, professional or theoretical perspective.

Why leave?

- 4 These professionals, working in the design of buildings and landscapes or in town planning, had various reasons for emigrating. Sometimes they were obliged to leave, but sometimes it was a voluntary, personal choice. However, the line between chosen and forced exile turns out to be relatively thin, as the nine articles in this collection illustrate. The distinction between the two is based on subtle and sensitive issues. The intellectual assertion of political commitment and/or discipline sits alongside belonging to a threatened or even persecuted minority. Not only are political crises or emergency situations influential, but also the economic situation of a country can be a decisive reason for leaving: the lack of real possibilities for education and training or the absence of professional opportunities can also contribute to the “brain drain”. Further, some architects actually chose to emigrate in order to complete their training in a recognised institution or with illustrious mentors who were internationally admired. The experiences of each individual lead us to question what happens when we are “uprooted” and what constitutes a “culture shock”. It is also interesting to wonder about the nature of the connections these men and women felt with their country of origin, after emigrating.
- 5 The situation of those in exile often required them to reorientate their careers, perhaps encouraging them to specialise in fields of work that were not initially familiar to them: design and theoretical development are good examples⁸. From a historical point of view, we can today re-evaluate these changes in professional activity, they can sometimes be seen as a mere stopgap, but at other times as particularly intense, rich episodes in the history of architecture and design.

Being welcomed

- 6 Another important element to consider is how these architects, town planners and landscaper designers were welcomed to the new country, on a variety of different levels – be it by friends, by the profession or from an administrative or legal perspective etc. Whether it is as part of a professional network or through the links developed with compatriots, the experience of hospitality comes from a feeling of community (national, political, intellectual) and, in the case of architecture, this is often reinforced by the feeling of belonging to a corporation. However, looking beyond these circles, we can also acquire an overview of the professional situation of the welcoming country by considering the administrative and legal systems intended to support or, on the contrary, to exclude architects coming from abroad. From this perspective, we can measure the proportion of public versus private institutions, whether they be museums, architecture schools, town planning institutes or even architecture firms, and also assess the various bodies governing the profession. What are the impacts of immigration on the architectural, urban or landscape design culture of the host country? Ultimately, under what circumstances is the immigration of

architects, town planners or landscaper designers perceived as an asset, or, conversely, as a source of imbalance?

Coming back from exile

- 7 Being in exile can be a temporary situation. How can the return to the native country be considered? Can it be seen as a kind of “reconquest”? The decision may either be greeted with happiness or may encounter resistance from compatriots⁹. The status of being in exile is also an important factor in the pursuit of a career and the development of a body of work. Solidarity between colleagues and cases of co-optation are frequent and also deserve to be studied¹⁰. Again, individual experience gives an essential point of view. What lessons did architects learn during their period of exile? In what form and how do they pass this on to their colleagues, their students, their disciples?
- 8 The nine articles that make up this issue address the various different aspects mentioned in the call for papers. However, the sub-themes, concerning both the obstacles and the opportunities for architects, town planners, and landscaper designers when they arrive in the host country (ies) and also the policies developed (whether or not they are intended to facilitate economic, legal or administrative support) have only been touched on lightly in the paper by Anat Falbel. She presents, for example, the state measures linked to migration, such as the establishment of quotas. Several of the articles focus on voluntary, temporary migration, which is an aspect that we did not particularly indicate in the call for papers. We have nevertheless included them.
- 9 The article “The docile body”. Überlegungen zu Akkulturation und Kulturtransfer durch exilierte Architekten nach Ostafrika und in die Türkei (“The docile body”: Reflections on Acculturation and Cultural Transfer by Exiled Architects in East Africa and Turkey) first published in German, in 2002, opens this collection of texts. Its author, Bernd Nicolai, has worked on the theme of architecture in exile for many years. His contributions are all the more essential as they not only consider the sociological dimension of the phenomenon – in other words the place of the architect(s) in exile – but also the repercussions in terms of the theory and practice of architecture. Bernd Nicolai shifts the focus of the historiography of the Modernist movement. It is generally accepted that the worldwide spread and success of the Modernist Movement stems from the migrations and displacements of its architects. The author not only shows that the Modernist project was determined by utopia (according to the initial origin of the word used by Thomas More: οὐ-τόπος: “in no place”); but also, in reference to the concept of “docile bodies” developed by Michel Foucault¹¹, that the Modernist movement was driven by a permanent, Western aspiration for expansionism (political, ideological, economic). Using the examples of Ernst May (1886-1970) in East Africa and Bruno Taut (1880-1938) in Turkey during the interwar period, Bernd Nicolai establishes the concept of a “hybrid” architecture, which betrayed the philosophical ambiguities of these two heralds (or heroes) of modernity. This hybridisation also illustrates the inevitable tensions in the constitution and expression of a new architectural identity.
- 10 In her article, Anat Falbel gives a synthesis of the historiography of different ways of considering emigrants. In the particular case of Brazil, in the 1930’s the government insisted on the concept of “ethnicity”, according to which only Brazilians could create new architecture. Anat Falbel establishes the philosophical-critical context of this

position, principally in European research papers. The “Estado Novo” of Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas (1937-1945) set up legislation which prevented any foreigner from independently exercising his profession. This meant that the many architects exiled from Europe had to join forces with Brazilian architects. For many of them, it was only later in the 1950s that they finally obtained their architect’s license to practice. Considering this context, Anat Falbel has adopted three approaches to the analysis of the situation for immigrant architects. The first approach questions the awareness of being a foreigner; the second introduces the notion of “extraterritoriality”, identifying emigrants as agents of modernisation; the third considers the notion of *Landsmannschaft* (grouping together according to origin) creating the cultural and linguistic connections which contribute to solidarity in terms of identity.

- 11 The Parisian exile of Gottfried Semper (1803-1879) was the first step in a journey across Europe lasting several years. It stemmed from his involvement in the “Spring of the Peoples”, and more precisely in the uprising of May 1949 in Dresden, where he was one of the great revolutionary figures, together with Richard Wagner (1813-1883). The article, co-written by Isabelle Kalinowski and Estelle Thibault, focuses on the uncomfortable situation (personal and social) in which the architect finds himself, as he is forced to reconsider his professional and intellectual ambitions. Nevertheless, Gottfried Semper was able to continue his theoretical work and writings, as he benefitted from the support of the specialised press or from institutions such as museums. His writings appeared in Romberg’s *Zeitschrift für praktische Baukunst* (an architectural review), and, although relatively disparate, are evidence of the great diversity of his points of interest, indeed of a certain eclecticism. They are the foundations of his theoretical work and bear witness to the different networks, circles and environments in which the architect worked.
- 12 Ingrid Quintana examines the case of twenty-one Latin American architect trainees, who worked at the Le Corbusier workshop between 1932 and 1965. Her article “Filhos da Rue de Sèvres: os colaboradores latino-americanos de Le Corbusier em Paris (1932-1965)” is based on her doctoral thesis, which she defended in 2016. She notes the specific elements involved in these voluntary departures from the trainees’ countries of origin, in order to acquire professional experience. Ingrid Quintana compares the stories published by the South American architects with the documents (kept at the Le Corbusier Foundation) relating the work they did at rue de Sèvres. This chosen professional experience abroad allowed these young architects to discover a stimulating, intellectual environment, and to interact not only with members of the French intelligentsia but also with their compatriots who were in a similar situation. The reactions of these architects to both the working conditions and the attitude of Le Corbusier as master were not always positive, and upon their return home, several of them developed a critique of the architecture and theories of Le Corbusier. The author considers the maturation of this critical thinking, in particular taking into account the biographies of two Colombian architects, Rogelio Salmona and Germán Samper, who trained at the Le Corbusier workshop in the early 1950s and had divergent attitudes towards his work.
- 13 The next article is also based on a doctoral thesis (defended in 2016). In “The Itinerant Red Bauhaus, or The Third Emigration”, Daniel Talesnik identifies three associated waves of migration in the first half of the 20th century. Much like Bernd Nicolai, who

suggested the idea of an itinerant form of Modernism with no specific location, he identifies groups of European, mostly militant, architects, who moved to the USSR. Some of these architects were associated with the Bauhaus “Red Brigade”, where Ernst May and Hannes Meyer (1889-1954) were leaders. Qualified as a “third emigration”, this movement is studied through prosopography. The architects were initially drawn towards a fairly open Soviet Union, but then began to drift away, with the hardening of the political situation, and the accompanying return to a form of state Classicism for architecture, as Marxist ideology crumbled. Mexico, Chile, China, Japan and Kenya were among the countries where the figure of a ‘global architect’ began to develop, in a cosmopolitan context.

- 14 Concentrating on the theme of exporting know-how, Marlène Ghorayeb traces the life history and actions of the architect and urban planner Michel Écochard (1905-1985) from the 1930s to the 1960s. She recounts his commitment to the dissemination of the Modernist movement ideas and to the new town planning theories which influenced the development of cities after 1945. Écochard chose to work in various African countries (especially in North Africa), and in the Middle East. The originality of this article is to show Ecochard’s attempts to apply the dogmatic principles of urbanisation as they were issued by the CIAM (the Congrès internationaux d’architecture moderne), whilst at the same time being sensitive to local culture and climate¹². In the last part of her text, Ghorayeb describes the difficulties that Écochard encountered when he eventually professionally relocated to France.
- 15 Sandra Fiori examines a situation of real exile: that of the Brazilian architect Sérgio Ferro (born in 1938), who arrived in France in 1972. Professor and researcher at the École d’architecture de Grenoble, he is the author of the book *Dessin-chantier*¹³, published in 2005 and which aimed to be a radical critique of how architecture is produced. Sandra Fiori analyses the particular rhetoric of this publication, taking into account Ferro’s formative experience – Brazil in the 1960s – and his political and artistic commitments at the time. She also comments on the way in which young researchers in Brazil today consider the theoretical work of Sérgio Ferro, emphasizing its political aspects.
- 16 The subject of Diane Aymard’s article “Du voyage initiatique à l’enseignement : le programme inter-UP ‘Ville orientale’” (“From a journey of initiation to teaching: the inter-UP ‘oriental cities’ program”) is related to the idea of exchanges between different cultures. This unprecedented, educational experiment, set up by a group of architecture school professors, is inserted into the broader framework of geopolitical and philosophical history by the author. The legacy of the 1960s is particularly highlighted. The article tries to understand the reasons for creating such an ambitious project: is it the search for an “elsewhere”, a form of escape, a need to shift one’s gaze or a kind of “detour” – as Georges Balandier called it¹⁴? Some of the countries involved are former colonies and still have an important French-speaking community. The relationship between these projects (led by Pierre Clément, Philippe Panerai or Pierre Pinon) and the policies of cooperation that have been developed for the countries in question, is extremely complex. This essential subject opens up many avenues for future research. The questions raised in this article could also be transposed to similar projects carried out in neighbouring countries, in particular by former colonial powers such as the United Kingdom, Belgium or the Netherlands.

- 17 To conclude, the research led by Luc Bousquet and Cécile Regnault looks back on the numerous return journeys endured by Fernand Pouillon (1912-1986) who travelled back and forth between France and Algeria for two decades. This architect's experience is emblematic, and it also sheds light on another type of exile, this time of a legal and financial nature. Comparing the testimonies of Fernand Pouillon's relatives and friends along with documents from the archives from the association Pierres Sauvages de Belcastel, the authors investigate Fernand Pouillon's time in Algeria and the reasons why he was gradually excluded from public commissions in the first half of the 1980s. When Chadli Bendjedid came to power in 1979, the change in the political situation ended the architect's career, and he then left for his last refuge, the chateau in Belcastel.
- 18 As we have already indicated, most of the contributions collected in this volume rely on biography. Working on the theme of exile and migration meant putting individual, sometimes chaotic, journeys into perspective. This approach helped us to better understand the movements of architects, town planners and landscaper designers, depending on different political, economic and professional contexts. Thus, the connection between individual and collective experience is well represented. The focus on biography and the cultural aspects of this research could in the future lead to a further study concentrating on the spatial aspects involved, as these are not really developed here. What are the impacts of these professional practices and ways of working on architecture, town planning and landscape design? For example, immigration can be an element which encourages architects to take into account the climatic elements or the building characteristics and techniques in their host country, modifying how they conceive of the act of building itself. It could be interesting to study the import and export of this knowledge and the exchange of these techniques, between different countries. Finally, the topographical approach should also be considered. This approach is essential, especially in view of the work in progress on a large scale at the European research project "METROMOD - Relocating Modernism. Global Metropolises, Modern Art and Exile", developed at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich over a four-year period, beginning in 2017¹⁵. Taking this program as a reference, the study of metropolises, host towns and neighbourhoods in which immigrants from architectural circles live, makes it possible to combine the biographical and spatial aspects of this research.

NOTES

1. Pierre Gras (dir.), *Exils-créations, quels passages ?*, actes du colloque, Villeurbanne, 13 oct.2008, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2009; Jean-Pierre Morel, Wolfgang Asholt, Georges-Arthur Goldschmidt (dir.), *Dans le dehors du monde : exils d'écrivains et d'artistes au XX^e siècle*, actes du Colloque de Cerisy, 14-21 août 2006, Paris, Presses Sorbonne nouvelle, 2010; Rachel Dickson, Sarah MacDougall, *Forced journeys: artists in exile in Britain c.1933-45*, Ben Uri gallery, the London Jewish museum of art, 21 Jan.-19 April 2009, London, Ben Uri gallery/London Jewish Museum of Art, 2009.

2. A research program called “Architekten im Exil 1933-1945” was initiated by the Karlsruher Institut für Technologie/Institut Kunst-und Baugeschichte with a repertory of architects who lived in exile between 1933 and 1945. A bibliography of work on the theme of architects in exile is available on line here [<http://kg.ikb.kit.edu/arch-exil/271.php>], page consulted 19th July 2018.
3. Bernd Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil: deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei, 1925-1955*, Berlin, Verlag für Bauwesen, 1998; Bernd Nicolai (dir.), *Architektur und Exil: Kulturtransfer und architektonische Emigration 1930 bis 1950*, Trier, Porta Alba, 2003.
4. Charlotte Benton, David Elliott, Elaine Harwood, *A Different World: Emigrés architects in Britain, 1928-1956*, Londres, RIBA/Heinz gallery, 1995.
5. Juan José Martín Frechilla, Carlos Sambricio (dir.), *Arquitectura española del exilio*, Madrid, Lampreave, 2014. Juan Ignacio del Cueto Ruiz-Funes, *Arquitectos españoles exiliados en México*, México, Bonilla Artigas Editores/UNAM-Facultad de Arquitectura, 2014.
6. Jean-Louis Cohen, *Architecture en uniforme : projeter et construire pour la seconde guerre mondiale*, Montréal, Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Hazan, 2011.
7. Prosography according to François Dosse “aims to reflect the characteristics of a group, by multiplying the information available about its members”. (Christian Delacroix, François Dosse, Patrick Garcia et Nicolas Offenstadt (dir.), *Historiographies. Concepts et débats*, I, Paris, Gallimard, 2010, pp. 79-85, here p. 84).
8. On this subject, see the case of Marcel Gropius and Marcel Breuer, invited to develop a line of furniture by the entrepreneur Jack Pritchard, founder of the plywood furniture company Isokon. Andrea Hummel, “Jack Pritchard, refugees from Nazism and Isokon Design”, dans Andrew Chandler, Katarzyna Stoklosa, Jutta Vinzent, *Exile and Patronage: Cross Cultural Negotiations Beyond the Third Reich*, Berlin, Münster, Lit, 2007, pp. 23-32.
9. Andreas Schätzke, “‘Aucune illusion’ ? Retour des émigrés de Grande-Bretagne dans la jeune RDA”, *Allemagne d'aujourd'hui*, 3/2013, n°205, pp. 46-62.
10. Jay Rowell, “L'exil comme ressource et comme stigmat dans la constitution des réseaux des architectes-urbanistes de la RDA”, *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 2/2005, n°52-2, pp. 169-191.
11. Michel Foucault, Chapitre premier « Les Corps dociles », in *Surveiller et punir, III. Discipline*, Paris, Gallimard, 1975 [2011], pp. 159-199.
12. For a deeper understanding of these ideas cf. Tom Avermaete, “Framing the Afropolis: Michel Ecochard and the African City of the Greatest Number”, *Oase*, n°69, 2010, pp. 77-100; and Tom Avermaete, Maristella Casciato, *Casablanca Chandigarh. Bilan d'une modernisation*, Montréal/Zurich, Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Park Books, 2014.
13. Sérgio Ferro, *Dessin-chantier*, Paris, Éditions de La Villette, 2005.
14. Georges Balandier, *Le détour : pouvoir et modernité*, Paris, Fayard, 1985.
15. European Research Council Project METROMOD - Relocating Modernism, Global Metropolises, Modern Art and Exil, München, 2017-2021, [on line] https://www.kunstgeschichte.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/erc-projekt_-metromod/index.html, page consulted on the 19th July 2018.

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